

RIGHT TO VOTE

Evolution of the State Suffrage Privilege.

QUALIFICATIONS YEARS AGO

Constitution of the Nation—Notable Discussion—Property and Intelligence.

There are many in the United States, opposed to President McKinley's policy of annexation and expansion, who are fond of criticizing the style of government in the Republic of Hawaii, and the forms proposed for the new territorial acquisition of the United States, as un-American and undemocratic. An article in the December Forum by Prof. McMashe shows that practical statesmanship in the development of the United States has paid little regard to the "glittering generalities" of the Declaration of Independence or the venerated Constitution. The men of '76 had their ideals of the equality of all men before the law, and of the just powers of government as conditioned in the consent of the governed; yet they founded their State governments on legislation which ignored those ideals as being subversion of order and stability, and not fundamental to any good or just government. Manhood suffrage was quietly set aside for sensible and reasonable restrictions, that accorded the privilege, for a privilege it is and not a natural inalienable right, limiting it in Connecticut to those who owned estate of a minimum value of \$134, or giving an annual minimum income of \$7. In Massachusetts the voter must have an estate worth \$300, or a rental for it of at least \$15. In N. Y. the limitations were a freehold worth \$100 or a rental of \$10. In Maryland and North Carolina, the voter must own 50 acres of land, and in South Carolina, besides this property qualification, he must be a free white man believing in the existence of God and in a future state of reward and punishment. In only one State was there anything like universal suffrage, and that was an unintentional blunder. The Constitution of New Jersey gave the franchise to "all inhabitants of the State" who were 21 years old, and owned \$250 of unincumbered property. Nothing was said concerning race, sex, or citizenship, and for 31 years women, negroes, and aliens were free to vote and used the right.

Yet these founders of state did not violate any avowed principles of right and justice any more than did the Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii, so often estigmatized as undemocratic, monopolistic, plutocratic. The simple fact in the case is that to have acted otherwise than they did, to have disregarded local condition and social customs, would have been acts of disorganization. There is a soft heartedness (and a soft headedness) in the false liberality of some theorists, that is very much like betraying the cause of truth and freedom with a kiss.

When the time came for providing a form of government for the vast stretch of territory north of the Ohio, in spite of the fact that nearly all the settlers were from the seaboard states, well accustomed to self government, in drawing up the famous ordinance of 1784, Thomas Jefferson, "the father of democracy" was very far from acting on the theory that "just government derives its authority from the consent of the governed." The Ordinance provided for a governor, a secretary, and three judges, elected by Congress. The governor and judges selected the code of laws from the statute books of the 13 original states. Until there were in the territory 5000 free white males of full age, not a vote was cast by the residents for a single territorial officer. Then a House of Representatives was elected, every member to be the owner of a freehold of 200 acres of land. No government can endure that is not adjusted to the wants, condition and intelligence of the people living under it. The territorial government, first established, has been the model on which succeeding territorial governments have been fashioned. These all imply that the U. S. Constitution applies to the States and not to territories; that the territories are the property and not a part of the U. S. that the just powers of the territorial governments are not derived from the consent of the governed; and furthermore that only such men as land owners were fit to rule, and only the select class who owned a great deal of land (500 acres) were fit to legislate; that Constitution limited the power of the Federal Government over the States; but that the will of Congress was supreme over the Territories.

The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 brought out in full force those settled principles in the legislature that followed. Not till 1815 were territorial officers made elective by the people, and the elective franchise given to every male of full age who owned 50 acres of land, or a town lot worth \$100. No change was made from the old form of territorial legislation when Florida was acquired in 1823. When the still larger extent of territory with its heterogeneous population was added off from Mexico in 1848, the attempt was made to extend the Constitution, which tolerated slavery, over the new territory; but it was resisted. Trial by jury, the habeas corpus, and other safeguards of personal liberty were assumed to be extended by the Constitution over every new territory. Calhoun argued that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land; and the territories are a part of the land of the United States. Webster replied that the Constitution and the laws of Congress passed under it are the supreme laws of the land, that is the land over which the Constitution is established; and that is, the States. Under the compromise of 1850, the franchise was extended to all male citizens of the United States; but the qualification of voters were to be determined by the several legislatures, provided the suffrage was not extended to other than citizens of the U. S. In 1862 slavery was abolished in the territories, and in 1867 came the act of Congress ordering that there should be no denial of suffrage in any territory to any citizen, because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The problem of negro suffrage would never have taken on the divisive phases it is now assuming, if there had been some educational or property limitation applied to all claimants of the privilege. In the Southern States, as in the Hawaiian Islands, the extension of the elective franchise is not a matter of mere theory, but of practical expediency.

Honolulu, H. I., Jan. 19.

A Beautiful Girl's Affliction.

From the Republican, Versailles, Ind.

The Tuckers, of Versailles, Ind., like all fond parents, are completely wrapped up in their children. Their daughter, Lucy, in particular, has given them much concern. She is fifteen, and from a strong, healthy girl, three years ago, had become weak and kept falling off in flesh, until she became a mere skeleton. She seemed to have no life at all. Her blood became impure and finally she became the victim of nervous prostration. Doctors did not help her. Most of the time she was confined to bed, was very nervous and irritable, and seemed on the verge of St. Vitus' dance.

"One morning," said Mrs. Tucker, "the doctor told us to give her Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People, which he brought with him. He said he was treating a similar case with these pills and they were curing the patient. We began giving the pills and the next day could see a change for the better. The doctor came and was surprised to see such an improvement. He told us to keep giving her the medicine. We gave her one pill after each meal until eight boxes had been used, when she was well. She has not been sick since, and we have no fear of the old trouble returning. We think the cure almost miraculous."



Discussed Their Daughter's Case for Hours.

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FRANK TUCKER,
MRS. FRANK TUCKER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of April, 1897.

HUGH JOHNSON,
Justice of the Peace.

These pills are wonderfully effective in the treatment of all diseases arising from impure blood, or shattered nerve force. They are adapted to young or old, and may be had at any drug store.

HALE AND FRYE.

Remarks by Mr. Hale on His Recent Renomination.

Senator Eugene Hale of Maine has been renominated by the Senatorial caucus of the Maine Republicans. Regarding expansion he said to the members of the House of Representatives: "Upon the question of expansion there are two sides. You have one idea, I have another. It has always been a rule with me never to flinch in the performance of what I consider my duty. I am not an expansionist. I dread the effect of taking the Philippines. The President is honest in his views on this great question, but I cannot aid by my vote any measure that carries with it that idea. But if I am overruled it is my duty to submit and make the best of it. No one will blame me for doing this. We cannot tell what is in store for us in the future, but the Republican party can be trusted. It will take no backward steps."

Of Senator Frye, Mr. Hale said, when the name was cheered:

"That's right; you can't cheer him too much to suit me, for there is no man in the land who has the nation so much at heart as he. We don't always agree; in fact, we agree to disagree. We are neither of us soft-mouthed men, and when we have anything to say we say it. From the days of Melien, Evans, Hamlin, Bradbury, Fessenden and Blaine, Maine's representatives have never been afraid to speak their minds."

TRUTH IS TOLD

A New York Paper is Set Right on the Island.

Had Classed Hawaii with Conquered Possession—A Journal is Asked to be Fair.

(N. Y. Press.)

To the Editor of The Press:
Sir:—May I be permitted once more to protest against the persistent manner in which Hawaii is misrepresented in your continued opposition to the territorial government which is about to be set up there. The following extract is from the double headed editorial which appears in The Press today:

"Among all the country's new dependencies, Cuban, Porto Rican, Philippine, there is not one which has not a claim equal in quality to that of Hawaii and infinitely superior in quantity."

For more than two generations Hawaii has had its own government, which this country has constantly recognized as a legitimate Government. During this period, and under the Christianizing and civilizing influences of American institutions, both religious and political, Hawaii has passed from the despotism of Kamehameha I to the constitutional monarchy of Kamehameha III, and from that to the Republic of January 17, 1892, under President Dole, and that Republic, acknowledged and respected by all the great nations, maintained itself against the two assaults of Mr. Cleveland and his Secretary of State and the more despicable attempts of the ex-Queen's friends to carry out by treason what Mr. Cleveland's diplomacy so signally failed to accomplish. And all this has been done without a single rebel or traitor being executed, and with the loss of less than a score of lives in the trifling skirmishes that have taken place at two different times. And while these changes in the political life have been going on, the material affairs have been so fostered and developed that from a state of nearly naked and absolute poverty to a state of commercial and agricultural prosperity, that is evidenced by the fact that Hawaii has neither paupers nor almshouses, while its money in circulation is ten times and its export products eight times as much per capita as our own marvelously wealthy country shows.

Nor have more important things than good government and the production of wealth been neglected. Without aid or interference from the state, ministers of the Protestant and Catholic churches have been so diligent in their work that not a soul in Hawaii that has come to the years of understanding is of necessity living in ignorance of the truth of the Gospel. In the matter of educating the people, the Republic of Hawaii has made provision for schools so that every child of school age, from the highest to the lowest, may have a common school education in the English tongue. Can this last assertion be made in truth of New York city? And can any of these things be said of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, where Spanish civilization has had four times as many years in which to work out these problems, with the powerful backing of the home Government and the authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church?

There is no analogy between the admission of Hawaii as a Territory and State and the islands which have so lately escaped from Spanish misrule and oppression. They can well afford to wait for American civilization to do its work, and in this connection I would not for a moment forget the work of English clergymen, jurists, teachers, and others who have ably seconded the efforts of our own countrymen in making Hawaii in every way the paradise of the Pacific.

M. M. GOWER.

New Haven, December 21.

GOVERNORSHIP.

Appointment for Hawaii is Viewed From Boston.

(Boston Transcript.)

The selection of the first governor of Hawaii will be a delicate task for the President. Apparently the field of selection is limited to ex-President Dole and Mr. Harold Sewall. The claims advanced for Mr. Dole seem to us decidedly stronger than those presented in behalf of Mr. Sewall. Mr. Dole has been familiar with Hawaii all his life. He held high judicial office there before the revolution that overthrew the royal government. He seems to have won the confidence of the foreign community without forfeiting the regard of the native element. Probably no man knows the islands better than Mr. Dole. Mr. Sewall is a "smart man" with a great deal more young ambition than proved capacity for statesmanship in a record which, for so short a one, fairly bristles with unpleasantnesses, personal, political and international. As compared with Mr. Dole he is a carpet-bagger in Hawaii. Possibly the President may select a third man for the governorship.

Mr. Eliza Berry, of this place, says he never had anything do him so much good and give such quick relief from rheumatism as Chamberlain's Pain Balm. He was bothered greatly with shooting pains from hip to knee until he used this liniment, which affords prompt relief.—B. F. Baker, druggist, St. Louis, Mo. For sale by all druggists and dealers. Benson, Smith & Co., Ltd., agents for H. I.



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